1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
E 175 [171]
F E A 121
A 114
A 194
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The above method closely resembles the treaty system used in the United States in the early days when the chief objective was to secure land from the powerful Indian tribes. It was probably used because it seemed the best method for maintaining, with insufficient forces, the Japanese bases in Hokkaidō.

This reconciliation was the first step toward control of the natives by the mainlanders and the beginning of a significant native policy. Therefore, the first page in a history of Ainu policy should commence from this period. In the remainder of this chapter I shall discuss those problems and policies which mark the 250-year rule of the Matsumae. However, because this is a very long period of time with a considerable change in situations the period cannot be discussed as a unitary whole as regards policy. I have therefore divided this period into halves using two great incidents as limits; the rebellion of 1669 which falls in the middle of the whole period and the incident of 1789 which occurs in the latter half. By comparing the two periods marked off by these events I intend to study the transition of policy under the Matsumae.

But, before going into this policy study, it is necessary to make a study of native life immediately before the conquest of the island by the mainlanders. Such a study will aid in understanding the problems that followed the conquest.

I. AINU SOCIETY

It is essential in discussing aboriginal policy to know how the Ezo on Hokkaidō lived just before the early sixteenth century when the Japanese started their activities on the island. There can be used as source materials those ruins and remains presumably used by the Ezo and found in various places in Hokkaidō as well as legends and traditions and the reports of those who came in contact with the natives. But archaeological investigation of the area is as yet too rudimentary from which to draw any general conclusions, and the collection and translation of religious legends, which are comparatively reliable, has not gone forward enough to be of help in this problem. We are obliged then to rely on the reports of travelers as our principle source of information. However, detailed records of travelers are available only from the early part of the seventeenth century and, since it was difficult for the casual traveler to penetrate their social life, and because those who did leave records behind them did not observe some aspects of their life with care, it is difficult to find records both accurate and detailed. When scientists with an interest in the Ainu began to observe and to write, the old way of life had been practically destroyed. However, since the rule of the Japanese over the island came about gradually with many Ainu maintaining their independence it was not until after the turn of the nineteenth century that a decisive change came in the lives of the Ezo. Those records on the life of the Ezo in such

regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1]

For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) **16**: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

bear of the Yezo Ainos, the Tsuishikari Ainos, and even of the Kurile Ainos. In this communication the name Aino is applied only to those people who are natives of Yezo. The Tsuishikari Ainos who recently came from Saghalien, and who are undoubtedly the same people but with slight differences in language and custom, will be invariably distinguished by the full name. The so-called Kurile Ainos are wrongly named. This name is given to the pit-dwellers of Shikotan, who are quite distinct from the Ainos. Mr. John Batchelor, of the Church Missionary Society, who has lived among the Ainos of southern Yezo for a number of years, and who has recently published a grammar of the Aino language and is about to publish a dictionary also, contends that the proper name for the people is Ainu. The best account of the Ainos of Saghalien is to be found in the very valuable work of Dr. L. Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen in Amurlande," vol. III. It has been said that the word was derived from the Japanese *inu*, meaning dog. This is what the Japanese assert, and they say that the Ainos are such an inferior race of people that they were called dogs. But Mr. Batchelor points out that the Japanese* more frequently derive the word from *ai-no-ko*, children of the middle. According to this author the word is not of Japanese origin, but, in the language of the people, means "men," descendants of Aioina. Aioina is the name of the first ancestor of the Ainos, who is worshiped as such by the people, but in English and also in German writings they have long been known as Ainos, and it seems unnecessary to make a change at this late day.

Formerly, it is said, the Ainos were subject to a powerful and wealthy chief, who lived at Piratori and received tribute from all the Ainos in the land. This is related by the Ainos themselves. However this may have been in the past, no traces of allegiance to a single ruler now remain. Each village has its own chief and a number of officers who assist him in preserving order and punishing wrong-doers. The chieftainship is hereditary in the family. It has recently been shown by the researches of Milne, Morse, Chamberlain, and others that Japan proper was once inhabited by a race of people different from the present Japanese, and from a comparison of the remains found in shell-heaps and kitchen-middens in many parts of Japan, even as far south as Kiushiu, with similar remains found in Yezo, it is thought that the Ainos once inhabited Japan. The evidence upon this subject seems at first sight rather conflicting, but on the whole it is tolerably conclusive. It is convincing if we consider only the probable, indeed the almost positive, Aino origin of geographical place-names in every part of the archipelago.† It is apparently weak if we consider only the very remote relations to be observed between the languages, mythologies, and

* Transasiatic Society Japan, XVI, 18.

† The Language, Mythology, and Geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino Studies. Prof. B. H. Chamberlain.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

customs of the present Ainos and Japanese. But on the other hand, if we seek to discover Japanese influences changing the habits and improving the condition of those Ainos who have lived in close contiguity with Japanese in Yezo for the last hundred years, we must confess that the signs of it are scarcely noticeable. The Aino in close contact with Japanese civilization remains, intellectually and otherwise, as much a savage in culture to-day as he ever could have been. It is true that some Japanese tales have found their way into Aino folk-lore, and a Japanese hero, Yoshistune, is reputed to have taught them useful arts. They number among their household treasures old Japanese swords and curios, which have been handed down from past generations. They now use Japanese knives instead of stone implements and metal arrow-heads in place of flint. But it is scarcely a century since they emerged from the stone age, and otherwise they have not passed beyond it.

We have here a remarkable instance of the close association of two distinct races, one superior and powerful, the other degraded and weak, working together day by day, living in contiguous villages, intermarrying more or less, and yet, after a century of such intimacy, as distinct in their character, habits of life, superstitions and beliefs as though they had never come together. The Aino has not so much as learned to make a reputable bow and arrow, although in the past he has had to meet the Japanese, who are famous archers, in many battles. It is a most remarkable example of the persistence of distinct types together, when the conditions are apparently favorable for the absorption of one by the other. The Ainos, being unable to affiliate more closely with the Japanese, remain distinct and apart, and are therefore doomed to extinction from the face of the earth.

As regards the evidence of place-names of Aino origin in Japan, a reference to Professor Chamberlain's valuable monograph shows that they are very widely distributed, even so far south as Kiushiu. Only a few examples will be quoted here to indicate the character of the evidence, the full strength of which can be brought out only by careful philological studies, such as the author named above has most ably carried out. Japanese geographical names are written with Chinese characters, which even the learned can not pronounce correctly without the aid of a geographical dictionary. These characters have meanings which may or may not throw light upon the origin of the name. For example, Otaru is an Aino place-name, meaning "sandy road." The reading of the Chinese characters is "small cask." Many examples of this kind show that the meaning of the Chinese characters may be very misleading. In the following list will be found a number of names illustrating the very absurd meanings in Japanese, and the Aino derivations proposed by Professor Chamberlain.

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Place-names.	Japanese.	Ainu.
Jun	(Phonetic)	The promontory.
Inamo	Leaning clouds	The bay near the promontory.
Naki	Name tree	Sinnan.
Nakuri	Name flat	The cliff by the stream.
Saiio	(Phonetic)	Dry river.
Sara	...do	The grassy plain.
Tanabe	Rice-field name, tribe	Long river.
Tonami	Harm in a row	The stream from the lake.
Tsushima	Opposite horses	The distant island.
Uda	(Phonetic)	Sand.

The distribution of names which are unquestionably of Aino origin, can be traced through the main island, and through Shikoku and Kiushiu, even into the extreme southern province of Osumi, and across the sea in the islands of Iki and Tsushima. "The dawn of history shows them (the Ainos) to us living far to the south and west of their present haunts, and ever since then, century by century, we see them retreating westwards under the pressure of the colonists from Europe." * * *

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Evidently the Japanese Government can not, with the best of intentions, preserve the race much longer from extinction. If the Ainos once inhabited southern Japan, as the evidence of geographical place-names seems to prove, and if they have gradually been driven northward, their presence in the north of the main island within the historic period leads to the supposition that the early Japanese were the aggressors. If this were so, we would expect some allusion to the fact in ancient traditions and literature. The Japanese records of events previous to the historic period are exceedingly unsatisfactory, but it is significant that some of the half-mythical personages bear Aino names. Thus Tomibiko, for example, means nothing in Japanese, but the Ainos have the word *tumi*, "of war," which, in combination with the Japanese *biko* or *hiko*, "prince," gives us "Prince of war." The Ukashi are evidently the elders, from the Aino word *ekashi*. Instances like these might be multiplied.

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According to Japanese records Japan was once inhabited by a race of dwarfs, who lived in underground dwellings—"earth-spiders," they were called. These were exterminated by the Japanese as the latter spread over the country. There are also allusions to a hairy race of savages called Yebisu, or Yemishi. This word is usually assumed to designate the Ainos, with whom the Japanese must have come in contact very early. It would appear, therefore, that the Japanese found the country inhabited by two different races, the so-called cave-dwellers and the Ainos, a supposition which seems not improbable in the light of recent ethnographic studies. In the preceding paper ("The Pit-dwellers of Yezo") the author has brought forward evidence to prove that certain excavations in the ground, quite numerous in Yezo, are the ruins of ancient dwellings, once inhabited by a people unlike the Ainos. The Ainos have, in fact, a tradition concerning such a race of pit-dwel-

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lara, or koro-pok-gune dwellers, under ground, which they claim to have exterminated. But it is impossible to determine whether this is a genuine tradition or an invention of the people to explain the existence of the pits. It is reasonable to suppose that they should have heard of the Smelenkur of Saghalien, who also live in half-underground dwellings. The Tsuishikari Ainos, who originally inhabited Saghalien, and who have customs somewhat different from the Yezo Ainos, say that their people* "used to live in underground houses called *toichioei*. In spring they forsook them and lived above ground until the frost and snow again made them seek shelter in these subterranean dwellings, which were pits roofed over, not caves."* Possibly the Saghalin Ainos are the more or less direct descendants of the ancient pit-dwellers, but it seems quite as likely that they have thus merely described the dwellings of the Smelenkur of Saghalien, with whom they must have been well acquainted. The Smelenkur seem to be a Mongolian people.

From the relics of the Stone Age and of the kitchen middens in Japan, Professor Milne concludes that the Ainos† once inhabited Japan as far south as Kiushiu. The remains are of the same character throughout the country, but they are more abundant in the north. The evidence that they are of Aino origin may be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) The designs on the pottery are the same as those on pottery found in Yezo, supposed to have been made by Ainos at a time when they possessed the art of making pots.

(2) Some of the shell-heaps occur in places known to have been occupied by Ainos. Historical evidence is clear that the Ainos formerly lived as far south as the thirty-eighth parallel, which is about the latitude of Sendai.

(3) The Ainos formerly used stone implements, presumably the same as those found with the pottery. Professor Milne presumes that the Japanese, entering the country from the south, chased the Ainos before them, while the Ainos in turn drove the pit-dwellers back toward Kamtschatka. There is, however, a missing link in the argument, because the present Ainos do not make pottery of any kind. It is scarcely probable that such a useful art, when once developed to the condition of elaborate artistic decoration shown by the vessels and fragments from the shell-heaps, should be utterly lost by a people. The specimens shown on Plate LXXXI will give an idea of the character of this decoration, which is far superior to anything found on Japanese sepulchral pottery. The only explanation that suggests itself which might account for the loss of this art by the Ainos is, that in gradually moving northward they passed into a region where they could not find clay for making their vessels. But this can scarcely be true, for fragments of ancient pots are found in Yezo mounds.

* J. M. Dixon. The Tsuishikari Ainos. Trans. Asiatic Soc., Japan, XI, 1883, 39-50.
† Trans. Asiatic Soc., Japan, VII, 1879, 61-67.

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Plate LXXXI represents a portion of a large and very interesting collection made up by M. l'Abbé Furet, of Hakodate. The specimens were obtained from various localities in Yezo and from Awomori, on the main island of Japan. It is scarcely within the province of this article to discuss this part of the subject at length, particularly since to do so would require numerous references to Japanese pottery, and many additional illustrations to present the subject clearly. Those who are already acquainted with ancient Japanese pottery will immediately recognize that these specimens are entirely different in form and decoration from any found in Japanese graves. Professor Milne states, as a historical fact, that the Ainos in the neighborhood of Nemuro "used flint instruments and manufactured pottery until late in the last century." The basis of this statement seems to be that Mr. Charles Maries saw in the houses of Ainos, near Horoidzumi, clay vessels in appearance very like the fragments from the shell-heaps, from which he concluded that the Ainos at that time still made pots; and further, that a book published in the year 1800 gives drawings and descriptions of pots at that time manufactured by the Ainos.

The evidence is not quite convincing. Professor Milne thinks the Ainos gave up making pottery because they could get it from the Japanese. But, as far as my observation goes, they do not use much pottery of any kind. Their implements are of wood, and if one occasionally finds a Japanese tea-set in an Aino house, it will be about the extent of their possessions of that kind of ware.

The shell-heaps furnish still further evidence of the early occupancy of Japan by a race certainly closely related to the Ainos. It is a peculiarity of the latter that the humerus and the tibia are very much flattened or platycnemic. Such bones have been found by Professor Morse in the shell-heaps, with indications of cannibalism among the people.

A Japanese writer has recently published a description of two peculiar huts still in existence in Shonai, on the west coast of Japan, which he believes may have been erected by the people who made the pottery of the kitchen-middens.*

If we may judge from the authority of old Japanese writings, and also from other evidence, such, for example, as the discovery of indications of cannibalism in the shell-heaps by Professor Morse, and the cruel modes of punishment brought forward by H. von Siebold, the Ainos were once a fierce and warlike people. They are now gentle and courteous in manner, and one can scarcely believe that they are descendants of cruel savages. Only once, while I was alone among them on the northeast coast, I had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the chief man of the village, the largest Aino I saw in all my travels. I had seen some of his people the day before, and had promised them

* Y. Hashiba. Dwellers in pits still found at Shonai. Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society, III (1888), 152. Printed in Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to the severe climate. When I visited Shikotan (September, 1890), where not only these Shimushir people, but all the Kurilsky Ainu, numbering sixty, are now collected, and where they have built dwellings in their own style, the architecture and mode of construction were identical with those of the Yezo Ainu, and there were *no* pits whatever to their huts.

Had they been pit-dwellers, why should they have so suddenly modified their habits as to construct huts wholly above-ground without any reason for so doing? Supposing they were actually pit-dwellers, and had lived generation after generation in pits, why should they abandon this chief structural characteristic in a place where the climate is as severe as in the islands they formerly inhabited? I am willing to admit that the Kurilsky Ainu, like all barbarians, made the best of what they found in their migrations from one island to another, and that, having found pits already dug, they had lived in them simply for convenience, and to protect themselves from the cold. The impossibility of constructing their own style of dwellings, which would have required too much time and a great amount of timber and reeds—two articles scarce in the north-east Kuriles—may account for their being driven to occupy pits already dug; but I am certainly not inclined to admit that therefore the few remaining Kurilsky Ainu are in any way connected with or related to the Koro-pok-kuru. I believe that I have given sufficient evidence to prove this. At any rate, I have given such evidence as it was in my power to collect, and I have based my statements on what I actually saw, and not on what I heard people say. As others have speculated on this subject, I shall now ask the forgiveness of the reader if I am also dragged into a little pre-historic speculation as to who the Koro-pok-kuru were, and whence they came.

As I remarked at the beginning of this chapter, we find that pits are more numerous as we go in a north-east direction. Thus, few are found at Hakodate; and though none or few have been found along the south-west coast of Yezo, still, flint arrow-heads, pottery, and stone adzes collected here and there, show us that the Koro-pok-kuru had travelled along that coast, probably journeying in their canoes, landing to hunt, or to fight the Ainu.

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Along the south-east coast the pits increase in number as we approach Kusuri, and at this place the largest number of pits in Hokkaido is found; then they are numerous all along the coast as far as Nemuro; and in the islands of Kunashiri and Etorofu the population must have been large, as there are numerous pits throughout. Pits are found in the smaller islands of the Kurile group, and I believe also in Kamschatka. From Nemuro, following the coast-line of Yezo, we find some along the north-east coast of Yezo, and none down the west coast until we reach the narrower part of the island near Sappro. This said, we have two points to consider:—

(1.) That the pit-dwellers moved from north-east to south-west.

(2.) That the main bulk of the population settled in Etorofu, Kunashiri, and at Kushiro. Few went further south to settle.

All evidence tends to show that they came either from Kamschatka, or perhaps more probably from the Aleutian Islands. It seems not improbable, looking at the volcanic formation of the Kurile group, that in bygone days Yezo was joined to Kamschatka, affording a land passage to the migratory people; but this we need not take into consideration.

From what one can gather of this race, the habits and customs of the Koro-pok-kuru must have had many points in common with the present Esquimaux. Very likely their pits were roofed over with a snow vault. They evidently lived by fishing and hunting, like the Esquimaux, and all that we know identifies them more with the latter race than with the Ainu.

I believe that the present Aleuts have a striking resemblance to the Esquimaux; and if this were the case, there is no reason why we should not suppose that they in former days inhabited the Kuriles, part of Kamschatka and the north-east portion of Yezo. It is a well-known fact that the Esquimaux formerly lived in corresponding latitudes on the east coast of America, and that they withdrew little by little to the more inhospitable regions of the north, and the same might have occurred here after the Ainu invasion of Yezo. The Koro-pok-kuru were apparently more civilised than their conquerors the Ainu, for they made pottery and worked stone; but owing to their retiring nature and weaker physique, and outnumbered by the savage hairy people, they became extinct. As to the Ainu,

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● 114 they also are undoubtedly a race of the north. Their music, their decorations, their habits, display characteristics of northern origin; but the Ainu, as we have seen from their structures and customs, were by no means accustomed to so cold a climate as their predecessors the pit-dwellers. In my opinion they did not invade Yezo from the Kuriles, but came from the continent of Asia, probably across Siberia, and descended as far as Sakhalin Island, where many Ainu are still to be found. As the Koro-pok-kuru resemble the Esquimaux, the Ainu have a striking resemblance in many ways to the Northmen of Europe, and this is what makes me suppose that they came across the northern part of the continent, and not from the northern islands of the Pacific. They made their way south, probably crossing over the La Perouse Strait, and the main contingent of them came down the north-east coast of Yezo. I base this theory on the fact that the strong current which passes through the La Perouse Strait from west to east would have made it impossible for the Ainu in their light "dug-outs" to navigate against it, or straight across from Sakhalin to Soya Cape, and in crossing they were undoubtedly drifted far south-east on the north-east coast, probably landing near Abashiri or Shari. Another evidence which made me think that the Ainu came from Sakhalin is, that all knew of another island besides Yezo, which they called Krafto, by which name they designate Sakhalin. Of the Kuriles no one knew except those in the immediate neighbourhood. At one time the Ainu are said to have inhabited the whole of Japan as far south as Satsuma. Archæologists are puzzled by the discovery in the main island of Nippon of various kitchen-middens, which include fragments [115] of pottery identical with those attributed to the Koro-pok-kuru, and also of shell heaps, which some consider of Ainu origin, others as pre-Ainu. No pits, however, have been found near these shell heaps, nor on any part of Nippon. Thus another question is raised as to who the originators of these shell heaps and kitchen-middens were. Is it not likely that, as the Ainu proceeded south, they encountered the Koro-pok-kuru at Nemuro and then at Kushiro, and, having easily defeated them, forced some of them to retreat in the direction of the Kuriles, while the rest went towards the

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south? They probably fled along the coastline in their "dug-outs," those who moved south occasionally landing to hunt or to attack their pursuers. Thus we can account for the occurrence along that coast of some of their implements, but of no pits, which they were not likely to dig in such circumstances. Having then retreated as far south as Ushongosh (Hakodate), and with the conquering Ainu still at their heels, there was nothing more natural than that they should cross the Tsugaru Strait,[1] only a few miles in width, carrying with them their kitchen-middens and pottery.

The Ainu crossed after them, and, pushing the retreating Koro-pok-kuru further and further south, exterminated them, and became the masters of the whole of Japan, the Kuriles, and Sakhalin. As they were thus pursued by the Ainu, whom they knew as a warlike people, and stronger than themselves, there seems to me no cause for wonder that the Koro-pok-kuru did not dig any pits while on the main island of Nippon, first, because these pits would have been the sure means of bringing the Ainu on their track, to their certain annihilation; next, because the climate, being a great deal warmer, they had no need for them. On the other hand, it is more than probable that the retreaters carried with them their kitchen-middens and pottery, which constituted their treasures, and without which they could not have prepared their food. The barbarous Ainu then came in contact with the Japanese, at whose hands they received the same treatment as that which they had inflicted on the Koro-pok-kuru. Little by little the land so easily conquered was lost again, and the conquering Ainu were ere long in retreat towards the north. They were beaten and defeated by the more civilised Japanese, and the few who survived had to cross over the Tsugaru Strait back to Yezo. There is not a single Ainu now to be found in Nippon, with the exception of a child, a half-caste, whose mother was an Ainu, and who lives about sixty miles south of Awomori. The mother of this child was the last of her race who was born on and who inhabited the main island of Nippon.

Ainu blood can be traced in many of the Japanese in the northern part of Nippon, especially between Shiranoka to Awomori, and also some corrupted Ainu words are still in use in the dialect spoken in that part of Japan.

[1] The opposite coast of Nippon can be seen plainly from Hakodate.

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the dialect spoken in that part of Japan. Names of places, rivers, towns, etc., of Ainu origin, are common all over Japan. It was this former occupation of Japan by the Ainu that for some time led people to believe that the Ainu were the forefathers of the Japanese; and when pits were found in Yezo, the same hastily-judging people attributed them to the Ainu; and then, when mention was made of the Koro-pok-kuru and the Ko-shto, they affixed this name to the Kurilsky Ainu whom they had never seen nor studied.

I am not prepared to say whether or not traces of these Koro-pok-kuru are to be found in the Aleutian Islands, as I have not visited them; but it would prove interesting to trace a connection between them and some existing race, in case my supposition be not correct, though I am sure that it is nearer the mark than any of the conjectures made by others with regard either to the Ainu or the Koro-pok-kuru. At any rate, as I do not pretend to infallibility; should my supposition be wrong, the facts given above will remain, and a more successful student and investigator will be able to work on them with a decided advantage over the writer, who had to start from the very beginning, and work on information which was more of an obstacle than a help.

STONE ADZES AND HAMMERS.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABG Ainu ABG

More attention is due to the considerations of W. G. ASTON,[1] who derives the inau from the Japanese Shinto cult, and connects them with the so-called *gohei*, sacrificial sticks hung around with strips of colored paper. In earliest times, argues this investigator, fabrics, yarn, and fibres of textile plants, were very frequently to be found among the common offerings of the Shinto cult. Later on, these real offerings, bearing the name "nusa," assumed a purely fictitious form, having been supplanted by sticks with strips of fabrics or fibres of plants attached to them; and later still, when cotton came into general use, they were entirely superseded by strips of paper. These very sticks, hung around with strips of paper, and called "gohei," are, in the opinion of Aston, the prototypes of the Ainu inau. In their subsequent evolution, these gohei, and with them the inau, have become, from mere objects of offering, independent objects of worship, having been transformed into miracle-working magic beings, and even receptacles of spirit-deities.

However tempting the acceptance of this hypothesis may seem, — the more so because the gohei indeed somewhat resemble the inau in shape; and, furthermore, the most ancient forms of gohei bear the name "nusa,"[2] identical with the Ainu name for a group of inau,[3] — yet the reasons adduced by the author in support of his hypothesis are not conclusive. Indeed, if the inau are but the Japanese nusa and gohei, then the Ainu, like the Japanese, would have passed from fabrics and fibres to *paper;* or, if paper strips were for some reason or other beyond their means, they would have retained the old form of nusa, — that is, fabrics and spinning-yarns, — which would be the more natural, as the Ainu are familiar with the weaver's art; and textile material, in the form of nettle and elm-bast, was always ready at hand.

[1] The Japanese Gohei and the Ainu Inao (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1901, Vol. XXXI).

[2] In reality, the Ainu have their own synonymes for "nusa," *inau-chipa;* and the Japanese, on the other hand, call the Ainu nusa by the name *inau no rui.* Compare this word in BATCHELOR's Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary.

[3] See p. 429.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB 6

Of greater interest are the considerations of the same author, quoting two Japanese writers of the beginning and end of the eighteenth century, that, among the ceremonial objects of the Shinto cult, there had been the so-called *kedzuri-kake* (half-shaved little sticks). An extant representation of such a stick resembles the inau very closely indeed; but this fact argues rather against the gohei-inau hypothesis, and for the following reasons. As stated by the author himself, the said kedzuri-kake were lighted at the sacred fire of the temple, and carried home by the Shintoists to kindle the New-Year's fire on the hearth. This ceremonial, no doubt, must be very old; and for such a purpose, the kindling of fire, the ancient nusa of fabrics and yarn would be utterly good for nothing. If such is the case, the little half-shaved sticks of the Shinto cult must be of *primary* origin, and then they have nothing in common with the gohei; and there is more reason to credit their invention to the Ainu than to the Japanese, as among the former the cult of "shaved" sticks has received the widest development, while in the case of Shintoism we know of but one or two isolated cases.

I have now only to give my personal considerations and observations on the meaning of inau and their origin.

4. First of all, it was important for me to ascertain clearly how the Ainu themselves look upon their inau. This I endeavored to do in all possible ways during my travels among the Saghalin Ainu; and, to be just, they formulated their ideas on the subject with a clearness and definiteness that left nothing to be desired. Among the Saghalin Ainu, in the early nineties, the greatest authority was vested in a certain man called Nisendus, the venerable aged chief of the village Mauko. He was, forsooth, a very venerable and sensible old man, a veritable patriarch, of whom his fellow tribesmen used to say that he was "just as good" as a kamui (god). I wished to verify my former inquiries and observations, and, while at his village, I visited him. He was just installing a new *unti-kamui inau* on his fireplace. "Explain to me," said I, "why you make these inau. What are they?" — "This," said the old man, "is an *ikoy-itáku ainu* ('mediator, envoy, orator'). The

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

To realize fully the significance of the inau in the eyes of the Ainu, one must see what importance is attached to them in moments of grave danger. Many a time have I sailed with the Ainu in their frail canoes on the stormy Okhotsk Sea, and more than once have the raging billows threatened to engulf us; but never, even in the most critical moments, did our companions lose their self-possession. Realizing the danger we were in, the Ainu helmsman would take out a small stick prepared beforehand, and would begin to cut it quickly into shavings. When the figure was ready, he would cast it into the waves with the instruction, "Go to the 'master' of the sea and tell him to take a good look. Will it be well if we and this Russian gentleman perish, and the kamui does not look on?"

It remains to clear up the rôle played by the *shavings* in the inau. Precisely why does the "being cut into shavings" appear as their indispensable attribute? The answer, I surmise, is, that the value of the shavings is associated with the ideas that are in the mind of the Ainu during the process of "shaving." Very frequently he has to shave pieces of wood, several times a day even, — whenever he has to make a fire in the open air, often in the midst of rain and wind, which are so common in his rough and inclement country. Believing as he does that the tree is animated, even manlike, — the sap of which he considers blood; the branches, arms; the rustle of its leaves, speech, — he cannot help being struck with the mysterious expressiveness of those long, fantastically winding, pointed tree-*tongues*, which fly so swiftly from under his curved knife, only to turn again with equal rapidity, as if alive, into grotesque curls.

And the Ainu, as we have seen, looks upon the matter just this way, calling his inau *"ikoytaku ainu"* ("orator-man"). Thus the Gilyak, too, calls it, *khlay-nivukh* (synonyme of the Ainu term, literally, "interpreting man"). The shavings on the inau are precisely the orator's tongues, and in these latter lies the whole sense of the inau. This is not merely hypothetical. It is confirmed by the formation of the word *inau* itself. It is composed of the common pleonastic particle *i*, which is very often omitted, — for instance, in the word *inomi* = *nomi*

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

("sacrifice"),—and the word *nau*, consisting of *ni* ("tree") and *ay* ("tongue"). Thus *inau* signifies literally "a tree's tongue."

Again, this peculiar idea of *tongues* of a tree-orator presents nothing exceptional in comparative ethnography. Ideas almost identical are to be found in most diverse parts of the earth and among most diverse peoples of those parts, on the subject, for example, of *fire* in connection with the noisy *many-tonguedness* of its flame.

To sum up, inau are "shaved" trees and pieces of wood, commonly in the shape of human figures, which act as men's intercessors before deities. Their power lies in their numerous *tongues* (shavings), which increase the suasive power of their eloquence to an extraordinary degree. Their present-day variety of form and destination is the result of a long evolution. In the beginning, a bunch of shavings issuing from a single short stem, after the manner of a stick shaved for kindling a fire, was probably all-sufficient.

In the course of time the Ainu began to pay more attention to the stem proper (body of the mediator), began to endow it with notches, a little head-piece, hands, arms, and to arrange the shavings (as a sort of supplement to the figures) in the form of hair, braids, vegetation on the body, and so forth. On the other hand, the shavings in themselves, apart from the stem, attained an independent development and most varied application.

At first mere "tongues" before the gods, the inau, owing to the importance of their rôle, the habit of looking upon them as a cult-object indispensable in all cases, have acquired to some degree an *independent* importance of sacredness and divinity. To them independent wonder-working power began to be attributed. Hence inau began to be looked upon, not only as intercessors before gods, but even as objects agreeable and useful to the gods themselves. Thus the "shaved" trees in front of the arena at the bear festival are destined partly to the Bear himself and partly to his mother, evidently as simple amulets for these divine beings. Gods, just as much as men, are in need of them. Thus the Orok, for example, the neighbors of

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

[556] In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]
[231]
[173]
[174]

[1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 796 354 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the location of the hearth, which must be free from contamination by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-[184] building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from elsewhere show slight variations.

[778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an • [174] important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX, fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

[417] [782] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the householder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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[304] [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to [836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual [881] relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattooing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

[773] But though tattooing (*manoko shiri uoshmari*) had not within living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] [386] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten [622] [554] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

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33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937. p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

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101 The sparse population of the island of Sakhalin consists of three tribes: the Orok, Gilyak, and Ainu. They were there already at the time when the Russians, even the Japanese, landed on the island for [172] the first time. But the first Russian explorers, Lopatin, Polakof, and others who travelled across the island, found there definite traces of an extinct tribe whose members knew only how to make tools of stone but were familiar with pottery. According to the information received from the Ainu they called this mythical tribe Tonchi.

172 Remains of clay huts and ground stone tools found close by, such as axes, arrows, spear-points, potsherds, and whole vessels of clay, shells and bones of various fish and mammals, still wait for an exact scientific archeological examination and evaluation.

173 Since the origin of the aborigines of Sakhalin is an unsolved problem I should like to quote here those legends that circulate among the Ainu themselves and which I have heard from their own mouths.

• 174 The Gilyak and Orok appeared on the island lured by its wealth. According to their own tales they came much later than the Ainu, who at that time constituted the only inhabitants of Sakhalin. They held the caves which they often found in the river valleys and on mountain slopes and which undoubtedly had been dug by human hands, to be the work of the bearded Ainu living there. The Gilyak called those caves also Kuhi rulkus, i.e. the caves of the Ainu, or Kuhi mrolf taf tulkus, i.e. the excavations of old Ainu huts. Some Gilyak are inclined to consider these caves remains of the dwelling places of their ancestors. Also the Orok call the caves Kuczi goropci nanda, i.e. old dwellings of the Ainu. As to our knowledge of the Tonchi, I have heard about them only from the Gilyak who live around the Niische Bay. This is perhaps because in the south of this gulf Gilyak-Ainu tribes have settled, from whom these legends were taken over by their nearest neighbors. One Gilyak there told me the following tradition: "The Tonchi inhabited mountains in the middle of which there were mountain lakes. They sorely suffered from lack of women and therefore kidnapped some from the Ainu living at the seashore. This caused bloody warfare with the Tonchi, who annihilated this tribe."

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194 With regard to the clay fragments that are found in different places, the Gilyak have two versions: some attribute them to the old Ainu, others assert that a long time back, when the Japanese and Manchurian iron caldrons were still unknown to them, their own Gilyak ancestors had themselves manufactured clay vessels, which, by the way, may have been the case. The Gilyak believe that stone axes and other stone tools fall from heaven when lightning strikes.

In 1905 I met in Nikolayevsk on the Amur a Gilyak who lived on the mainland; he confirmed to me that around there stone axes are called lyi tuch, i.e. axes of lightning. They held the potsherds found in the Amur region to be remains of Chinese vessels. As to the earth hollows which there, too, occur not infrequently, they either have nothing to report on them at all or they believe those tulkus to be remnants of huts of their ancestors, who formerly had not built big huts as they are customary nowadays in Manchuria, but had contented themselves with clay huts. From a clever Gilyak living in the neighborhood of Nikolayevsk I heard a characteristic tale about these caves which I can quote in a literal translation.

"A long, long time ago there appeared here on the Amur Russian or other devils who killed the people. They came in big boats or barges and could not cross shallow water. Therefore the Gilyak fled to where there were little rivers, built their clay huts there, and stuck it out for the winter or somewhat longer. Then they went back to the banks of the great Amur. They called the newcomers Kinys, i.e., "devils." By chance I met also in Nikolayevsk three Gilyak who, when asked about the Tonchi, said they had heard that on Tu (Gilyak word for Sakhalin) there lived a people similar to the Tungus and Orok called Tozin. The Tozin language was also similar to the Orok. But it was not known from where this people had come to Sakhalin. Since, unfortunately, I have never revisited this region, I was not able to check on this information more thoroughly or to receive more detailed information from other Gilyak on the above mentioned Tozin.

194 The consonant "z" is completely unknown to the Ainu. Wherever it occurs in other languages related to theirs, they replace it by "c." The Gilyak word yzyn is pronounced in Ainu "ocion," the Russian zima becomes cima, etc. Often the n- sound is inserted.

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172 3. Near the village Slawo on the road that leads out of the Russian settlement into the Gilyak settlement of the same name the inhabitants found a stone ax which they handed over to the superintendent of the property, E.K. Bezais. 4. Close to the Russian village Ado-Tym on a hillock (according to Gilyak information).

• 174 As proof that the unknown tribe of the Tonchi actually lived on Sakhalin some time ago and should not be mistaken for the Ainu tribes I mention the following:

It is taken for an absolutely established fact that the Ainu at a time populated all the Japanese islands, but then were pushed north by the ever growing number of Japanese, mostly to the Island of Sakhalin. It is improbable that in their migration to the north the Ainu came into regions that had never been inhabited by people before. Still less probable is the assumption that the Ainu, without being harassed by anybody, of their own free will had occupied simultaneously two such disparate regions as the hot, luxuriant Japan and the dark, gloomy, and cold Sakhalin. On the contrary, in spite of the firm assertion of the Ainu that they had come to Sakhalin from Hokkaido which had formerly been inhabited by them, many circumstances prove that the immigration of the Ainu from southern countries into the severe northern district of Sakhalin must have taken place [194] not so long ago. The language of the Ainu, like the Japanese, is rich in vowels which are pronounced clearly and distinctly and communicate to the language a melodious sound. This is typical and characterizes the languages of all the southern people who are not only very receptive to outward impressions but who also try to express their sentiments vividly. Further proof of the southern origin of the [291] Ainu is their national costume. A long gown open on breast and neck with wide, short sleeves indicates that the frosts and cold winds of [177] Sakhalin were unknown to the ancestors of the Ainu. The Gilyak told me one of their legends that relates how greatly astonished their people were at the lack of trousers in the dress of the Ainu when they first met them, and that this piece of clothing was only later taken over by the hairy Southerners, who thereby tried to imitate the Gilyak.

177 Everything connected with the use of sleds, which is completely
493 unknown to the Ainu on Hokkaido, was taken over by the Ainu on
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174 177 413 391 174 Sakhalin from the Gilyak. This is proved by the completely identical shape of their sleds and the same type of dogteams. Also the generally worn winter clothing, a wide fur made from dogskins, has been adapted from the Gilyak costume. But it is also possible that the Ainu advanced into the northern region of their present quarters at a time when their culture had not gone beyond the stone stage and that they did away with their stone tools only after they had become acquainted with iron. This possibility cannot be eliminated. On the other hand, it is very difficult to ascribe all the remains of subterranean huts, all the stone tools and potsherds which are being dug out on Sakhalin in such great numbers to the Ainu. One would first have to know when and for what reason the Ainu failed to engage in the art of pottery. In his excellent book L. Schrenk surmises that the Gilyak, having learned the art of pottery from their more civilized neighbors not very long before, had given it up again under the hostile influence of the Manchurian-Chinese government; but he also affirms that this industry, mentioned also by Mamia Riuso, had nothing in common with the clay fragments around the Tonchi caves on Sakhalin. These fragments, the eminent scholar tells us, originated in such bygone days that they have no more ethnological connection with the present.

It is easily understandable that the Ainu, who had constant feuds with the Tonchi, did not want to learn a craft from them, including pottery.

In a very different manner the relationship between the Ainu on the Kuril Islands and the unknown inhabitants of these islands in the Stone Age could develop, since there the Ainu could learn the manufacture and use of clay vessels from their predecessors. The young Japanese scholar R. Torii mentions this in his book Tsisima Ajnu. But we do not know anything definite about the time of the Ainu migration from Hokkaido to the Kuriles and Sakhalin. We only know that the emigrants parted company and gradually forgot all about their companions from whom they did not hear again. Only much later did they learn from the Japanese and Russians that to the west of the former and to the east of the latter their kinsmen had settled. This situation explains the impossibility of concluding on the basis of the

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174 pottery known to the people of the Kurile Islands that this art was known to the Ainu of Hokkaido and Sakhalin, too. For in that case one would be unable to explain why pottery has maintained its place until modern times among the Ainu of the Kuriles while it has been forgotten by all the other Ainu so thoroughly that not even legends are known about it.

172 174 A comparison between the remains of the Stone Age on the Island Nippon and those of Hokkaido showed that the stone period on Hokkaido was much later than on Nippon. Relying on these results, Professor Tsuboi of the University of Tokyo asserts that the Koropok-guru whom he considers the makers of the above-mentioned stone relics had advanced from south to north. Perhaps the expected research of Japanese archeologists in the field of Tonchi remains will furnish the material for proving the hypothesis that the people Koropok-guru, whose descendants Tsuboi recognizes in the Eskimos of today, have migrated from Hokkaido to Sakhalin and from there further to the north.

If a comparison of the stone remains, tools, potsherds, and caves of the Tonchi with similar remains on Hokkaido shows that the makers of the latter have nothing in common with the Tonchi and that the route taken by the Koropok-guru did not lead via Sakhalin at all, there is another plausible conclusion left, namely that the inhabitants during the stone period on Sakhalin and in the Amur region were the same. There is still another factor indicating the identity of the original inhabitants of Sakhalin with those of the Amur region: Among the potsherds originating in the Stone Age Polakow also found bones of wild boars, who nowadays are no longer found on this island, only on the continent. But if at some time there were no boundaries between the animal kingdom on the continent and that on the island, one can claim with still greater certainty that the same human type could easily populate both lands which even today have much in common.

Among others Busse, an expert on the Amur region, in his article "Antike Ueberreste in den Talern Lefu, Daubiche und Ulache" (Berichte der Gesellschaft fur Forschungen in der Amurgegend, Vol. I,

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172 Wladiwostok, 1888) has expressed this thesis. The /330/ results of
174 his own excavations in the district of Primorsk and those of Polakow on Sakhalin make Busse conclude that the aborigines of Sakhalin belonged to the same tribe as the Ileu people which is part of the Susihenish branch and belongs to the Tungus race. These aborigines of Manchuria and the region of Ussuri were first described by Chinese historians. According to their report the Ileu tribe lived in the mountains, in woods, was particularly fond of elevations, and lived in caves. For arms they used bow and arrow. The arrowheads were made of stone and soaked in poison. The tribe engaged in hunting and fishing and excelled in great fortitude. Therefore its neighbors had to suffer much from its attacks on land and sea.

An acquaintance of mine, a Japanese, translated for me the following passage on the Susiheni from the book of the Japanese scholar Okamoto Riunosike on the History of the Island Hokkaido and the Diplomatic Relations between Russia and Japan. I quote:

"Susin (also Skucin or Hikusin) traveled on the shores of the Island Hokkaido in matters of trade. They lived in the eastern part of Tartary without forming permanent settlements and often came to Yezo (Hokkaido) with the intention of entering into trade relations with the Japanese. Their customs were very different from those of the Ainu."

These same Suschin are also mentioned in one of the oldest Japanese chronicles Udzi-dzine-mono gatali.

On one of the old monuments in Tagadzo (near the city of Senday close to the harbor of Siogama) one reads that the tribe Skucin, three thousand ri from Miakiken (old name for Senday and its environment) in the Province Mucu (old name for Nippon and the whole Yezo) lives in the northwest. As several educated Japanese assured me, none of the old Japanese chronicles reports that the Ainu used stone tools. Nor do the legends among the Ainu mention anything about it. In Eastern Asia, however, the stone period was very late. Thus the Russian scholar Palladius claims on the basis of Chinese sources that the stone period in several districts of the Ussuri region coincided with the eleventh century.

/330 cont'd/

172 As long as there is no exact comparative examination of the stone
174 remains dug out in the Amur region on Sakhalin and the Japanese islands as well as comparative research on the peoples living in Eastern Asia by which many a hypothesis will be confirmed, others refuted, I myself follow Busse's thesis mentioned above which says that the Tonchi on Sakhalin were inhabitants belonging to the Susihenisih tribe.

T 114 /xxxiii cont./

His great merit lies in the fact that, thanks to him, a number of /xxxiv/ young investigators have directed their research to the study of the Tungus; he widely shared his experience, his knowledge, and his thoughts with his students and inspired them to work with his enthusiasm.

A 114 G [174] Shternberg devoted far less time to another Far Eastern nationality, the Ainu, than he did to the Gilyak, but he nonetheless succeeded in studying them quite thoroughly, which is evident from his outstanding last work before his death, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu Problem/" /untranslated/, where various aspects of Ainu life are touched upon, and historico-cultural, anthropological, archaeological, linguistic, and other materials are utilized.

A [174] Shternberg in this work shows that the Ainu are not Mongols and are not Paleo-Asiatics, as they were considered to be, but are related with respect to culture, language, and anthropology to the peoples of Indonesia or Austronesia. This hypothesis, along with new discoveries in the realm of the past migrations and intercourse of the Pacific peoples, opened before him broad horizons for explaining the past fate of the Pacific peoples, including our Far Eastern peoples, but his unexpected death cut off these broad scientific plans.

In the work "Kul't inau u plemeni ainu /The Cult of inau among the Ainu/" /untranslated/, Shternberg gives a detailed description of this peculiar cultural phenomenon and advances the clever proposition that inau (sharpened sticks) are not offerings, as was supposed earlier, but intermediaries between the gods and man. Here we should also note Shternberg's interesting thought on the relationship of this cult (and also the cult of the twins) with the cults of India.

* G 114 With his many-faceted research on family-clan relations, common law, religious beliefs, primitive art, and national languages and folklore, as well as the archaeology and anthropology of the Far East, L. IA. Shternberg quite deservedly won for himself a name as the best expert on the peoples of the Far East and, along with this, one as the best Russian ethnographer of his time.

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So, let us begin with the Amur peoples. In the Amur region we find two basic ethnic groups -- Paleo-Asiatics, and the Gilyak and the Tungus nationalities and in part the Ainu, joining them from the side of the Japanese archipelago.

We do not have to talk about the Gilyak -- they not only have the Turanian system in its most complete form, but in addition they have preserved the ideal form of the punalua family, the analysis of which has shown us that the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage.

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The Ainu tribe, to which, as the neighbors of the Gilyak, we shall devote a special chapter, is excluded from our survey as a tribe that is both racially and linguistically unique among the circle of peoples of northeast Asia. It is equally unique in its family structure. They have a classificatory system, but it differs in many essential respects from the Gilyak and the Tungus. Equally radically different from these latter are their marriage norms and their social organization. Among the Ainu, for instance, marriages are allowed both between the children of brothers and between the children of sisters, and in this respect they resemble more closely the northern Paleo-Asiatics -- the Yukagir and the Chukchee. The features of group marriage in the form of the mutual rights of brothers to each other's wives have been found by me at only a few points, and only the levirate fully coincides with the Gilyak-Tungus. The most important characteristic trait of the Ainu system, however, is the typically pronounced maternality and the absence of a clan structure -- a feature which also brings them closer to the northern Paleo-Asiatic group. In any case in /237/ view of the complete isolation of this tribe in all other respects from the group of nationalities in which we are interested, we note only their peculiarities, without engaging in any kind of comparison.

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G Gi A 101 361

/17 cont./ on the coast with the village of Tschamr-wo and in the interior at the headwaters of the Tymy, but nevertheless in the Gulf of Patience, near where a coastal lake empties in the sea, one still comes across a Gilyak yurt, Ssiska, whose inhabitants Schmidt came to know (4). On the same lake there is an Orok settlement,

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 113.

A G Gi 101

Tschogbo, to the north a second one, Taran-kotan, and still farther to the north on Lake Taraika, alongside several Orok settlements, the large Ainu village of Taraika (5). Thus, the

A 361 1H 10 114 [13]

5. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 13) thinks that there are Ainu also at the northern point of Sakhalin, between Capes Elisabeth and Maria and even sees in this proof that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the island, while the Gilyak and the Orok (for him, "Orotschi" /Orochi/) were later immigrants. But this information stands quite alone and is evidently only based upon an erroneous interpretation of Russian reports concerning the number of Ainu villages on Sakhalin, since he thought that the villages noted on the "Okhotsk coast" must be erroneously placed there instead of being sought on Sakhalin's east coast. Why the great number of these villages (22) did not seem to him obstructuve for such an interpretation is incomprehensible, especially since in the same report (Rudanofskij's) the total number of the Ainu villages on the densely populated west coast of Sakhalin is given as 35.

A FJ Gi 101 [113]

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3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 188, note 3; also Nippon, I, p. 131).

A Gi Gi 101 174 G A [439]

Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their trade with the Amur peoples up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with their language, and extended this name to the Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

A Gi Gi [113] [175]

4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Udskoi Ostrog (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

F.J. 101 175 A [101] F.J. [114]

/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamio Rinsô. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

Ainu ABG
Kamchadal RY3

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105 /127 cont./ The next and last of the Kurile Islands,
131 Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, received its popula-
167 tion, not from the south anymore, but from the north, from the
A adjacent Kamchatka Peninsula. It was not Ainu, but Italmen
175 or Kamchadal, who originally visited this island only to trap animals, but after the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka, they began to take up permanent residence out of fear of having to pay tribute to the latter and because of quarrels among themselves (2). The names of the islands mentioned also suggest

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2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 30; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, pp. 2, 4.

this spread of the Ainu and Italmen over the Kuriles, for in the Ainu language "Poro mosiri" or "Poro-moschiri" means "large island" (3), and "samatsch" is said to mean "island" in the

3. Not simply "island," as Steller (op. cit., p. 7) interprets the name "Buru muschi" and the "Paramusir" made from it, so he thinks, by the Russians.

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Italmen language (4). Moreover, the Italmen on the island of

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 6. This is the reason why the inhabitants of the southern tip of Kamchatka call the inhabitants of the islands "Sumtschuai," i.e., islanders (Steller, op. cit., p. 7.

Schumschu and on the southern tip did not maintain relations with the Ainu from the more distant islands without mixing with them: for many years they have entered into marriages

G /129 cont./
103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name
G for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe
[192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

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[114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated for them.

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● 174 If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu,
648 the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the
131 southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by
103 the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times; the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also
A certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north
174 and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to
184 have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,
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184 where the less bountiful natural conditions required them to trap
433 animals over a wider territory, to live constantly on the sea and
131 roaming on the islands, through which, however, they acquired great skill in navigation and, at the same time, a greater capability for further expansion.

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175 The historical reports concerning the Orok, the third people on the island of Sakhalin, are exceedingly scanty. The first information about them, though their name was not given,
Gi was obtained through the expedition sent to Sakhalin soon after
[231] 1709 by Emperor Kang-hi. Upon their return the Manchu reported that there were no horses there, to be sure, but that at various places the islanders kept a species of tame deer which they used to draw their sleds (2). This only fits the reindeer-

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, p. 13.

F.J.
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175 raising Orok. Not until the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth did the Japanese travelers,
F.J. Mogami Tok'nai and Mamia Rinsô, learn more about them.
[101] They called them "Orotsko," and the land inhabited by them,
[103] "Orikata." On the map of Sakhalin drawn by the first (3), a

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131 3. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXV:
175 the map inscribed "Mogami Tok'nai
F.J. 1786."
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[126]

F.J. dotted line indicates the circumference of this territory. The
[114] line begins at the Gulf of Patience, coinciding approximately with the statement in Mamia Rinsô's travel report, where it is said that the territory of the Orotsko begins at Si and Taraika (4),

4. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189).

E /490 cont./
23 Eskimo reached the fullest development of their individuality.
171 The poorer and more difficult their life is in the east and /491/
174 the north of their habitation area, amidst unfavorable natural
E conditions, the more man must share the labor that falls to the
[492] dog as a draft animal. It also sometimes happens that when the use of sleds becomes too difficult or impossible there (1), the dog

1. In Greenland, to be sure, the dog goes as far north as man, but is not used for driving by the Eskimo farther south than Holsteinborg, because the sea is not sufficiently frozen in winter for one to be able to travel over it in sleds (R. Brown, op. cit., p. 463).

is used as a beast of burden, as Klutschak, for instance, found on his trip with Schwatka to King William's Land (2) -- a use which is

2. H. W. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 23 and the illustrations on pp. 22 and 109.

certainly not in accord with the nature of the animal and does not occur in the Old World either among the Gilyak or, as far as I know, among any other people.

G Gi A 492 174 171 Gi 177 After this digression, as we again return to the Amur region, the contrast that we find between the two Paleo-Asiatic tribes, the Ainu and Gilyak, and the other peoples of the lower Amur region, all belonging to the Tungusic tribe, with regard to the use of the dog for harnessing should be pointed out first of all; whereas among the former it extends back to the most distant times, belonged to them originally, so to speak, the latter adopted it only in later, relatively recent times, and, to be sure, through the direct or indirect agency of the Gilyak.

A 325 114 194 648 /570 cont./ According to Mamia Rinsô's testimony, the Ainu on Sakhalin gradually lost their skill at forging iron more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a result, so he thinks, of being flooded with Japanese ironwork. We must add that this step backwards by the Ainu certainly had another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably would not or could not mention -- the oppressive bondage in which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, connected with merciless exploitation by the latter, under which they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery, and indolence. G 194 169 648 The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances and, at the same time, their greater energy and intelligence, they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of the Japanese and the sad fate which had befallen their neighbors, the Ainu, may have chiefly prompted them to retreat more and more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or, in consideration of a more distant past, perhaps more correctly said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

2. Concerning this emigration or migration back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the mainland, see pp. 214 and 247 above /untranslated/.

G 194 648 325 At any rate, the political independence which they were able to maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and in the Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being, as well as for the further development of already acquired skills, among them the art of metal forging, and all the more so the more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Gi 325 171 Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

2: Schrenck--896 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu AB6

K 823 A 439 823 186

/572 cont./ their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

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For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

A [131] 114 [113]

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

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of the continent (2), as may be presumed for various reasons,

2. See p. 247 above /untranslated/.

they still had no knowledge of iron and obtained this only after they had become peripheral peoples, that is, after they had been pushed to the extreme eastern coast of the mainland and to the islands and peninsulas lying in front of it and had thus arrived in the vicinity of Japan (3).

3. The question as to the origin and development of ironworking in Japan lies, of course, outside the scope of this work.

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If we now return to the Gilyak after this digression, this is the place, in concluding the above discussion of their weapons used for hunting on land and on the water, to mention a few other pieces of their armament. First to be mentioned here are two types of armor (Gilyak petsch) which are completely different in form, material, and origin, /573/ and which, to be sure, are no longer in use at present, but are of no little historical-ethnographic interest.

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One of them is iron armor (Gilyak wytsch-petsch). This consists of thin, longish, iron lamellas provided with holes, by means of which they are fastened close to one another on animal or fish skins with straps. The headpiece of this armor (Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 2) has the shape of a helmet. The upper, rounded ends of its iron lamellas are bent back somewhat and wound with a strap; a piece designed for the protection of the neck hangs down from its lower edge. The breast or body piece (ibid., Fig. 3), of which I saw only individual parts (in the village of Tebach) consists of several rows of iron lamellas overlapping from top to bottom, which are wider and longer than those of the headpiece. In speaking of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1) mentions this iron armor and says

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1. Op. cit., p. 194.